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NEWS & VIEWS

Back to Court

Despite an embarrassing series of routs, the government refuses to give up its pursuit in the courts of the Vietnam war's peace activists. Its latest step: the reprosecution of two members of the so-called "D.C. 9," who disrupted Dow Chemical headquarters in 1969 in protest over Dow's manufacturing of napalm.

The Nine came to trial in Washington in 1970, and were convicted of two felonies (destruction of property) and one misdemeanor (unlawful entry). Sentences ranging from six months to six years were meted out, but these were voided when the convictions were reversed on appeal in 1972. The appeals court ruled that the defendants' rights of self-defense and adequate time to testify had been vitiated; it also faulted the trial judge's instructions to the jury, which, it maintained, "coerced the jury into delivering a verdict of guilty."

(The reversal came late for Cathy Melville, ex-Maryknoll nun, and Cleveland priest Bernie Meyer, each of whom put in three months behind bars.)

Seven of the D.C. 9, in the meantime, have taken guilty pleas to one count of misdemeanor (destructi/ Dow property), which carries a maximum sentence of one year. They are presently awaiting sentencing.

The other two—Father Joseph O'Rourke of the Woodstock Jesuit Community, and Michael R. Dougherty, a former Jesuit seminarian, now married and the father of two children—refused to take a guilty plea and are being reprosecuted by the government. Court proceedings began June 18.

O'Rourke and Dougherty see their retrial as "a rushed effort to clean the books before public attention is again focused on their civil disobedience and Dow Chemical Co." They declined to plead guilty to reduced charges in order to press their "point of truth" regarding anti-personnel weaponry. (Dow is now out of the napalm business, but it continues to manufacture polystyrene, or polyesterene, which comprises half the ingredients of napalm. It is also still very big in the production of defoliants, such as 2,4,5-T.)

By pressing their action in the court, O'Rourke and Dougherty are gambling a sizable hunk of time. Conviction of all counts could bring sentences totaling, in maximum time, 21 years!

Not Fond of Fonda

The piety of the Administration's pious is hard to top.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz was returning from Europe recently, when onto the in-flight movie screen came a Jane Fonda film.

Butz complained to the stewardess, who explained that there was no way of stopping or changing the movie. So Butz and his party walked out . . . from first class back to the tourist section, where they watched a Walt Disney movie instead.

Psyching Merton

Many people knew Tom Merton. Few, obviously, got the point of him better than Dan Berrigan. This, from a Sunday-night Berrigan lecture at the Thomas Merton Life Center, St. John the Divine Cathedral:

"Dorothy Day hit his talent squarely on the head in the *Catholic Worker* when she wrote something like this: 'We do not expect from Thomas Merton the profound research of a scholar. We expect from him the devotion to the truth, of a teacher.' The French have a word for it; they call it something like *haute vulgarisation,* which I would translate simply: he got the word around. . . .

"Some of you may also know, though it is not spoken of currently in his books, that in the process of getting the word around he suffered a great deal in his own community. It is a mark of his spiritual greatness that he was unwilling to vulgarize that suffering. But he spoke of it from time to time, always with a fine edge of absurdity which I think he learned mainly from Camus. He wrote of it in a letter toward the last year or so of his life: 'If I had to do it all over again I would never become a monk, but now that I'm here they'll never get me out.' It was exactly that high-wire act, that delicate balance between the obsessive call of the culture and malice and pusillanimity of churchmen that enabled him to continue walking, continue speaking, continue balancing all kinds of good things—and to keep moving."

War-Tax Grants

Twice a year the Roxbury (Mass.) War Tax Scholarship Fund (RWTSF) presents monetary awards to community and anti-war organizations. Recent recipients were a day-care center, a Quaker research committee, and the Wounded Knee Information and Defense Fund in Cambridge.

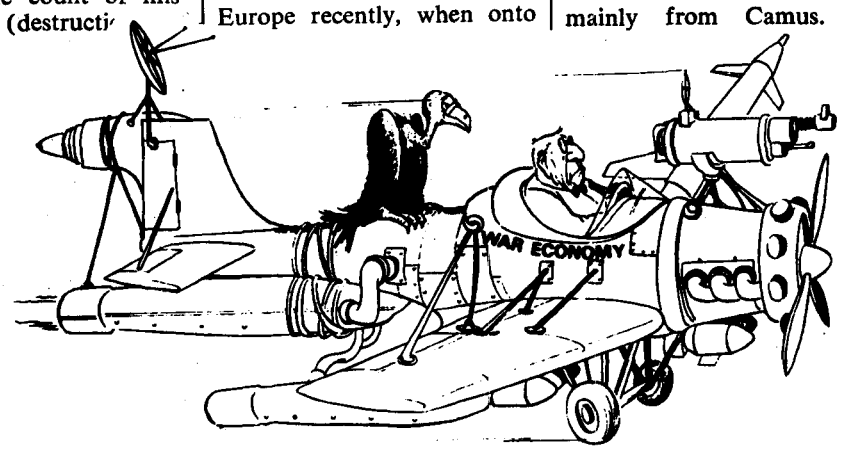
The awards—$427 to each group—represented the interest on $66,500 on deposit at the United Bank of Roxbury, a sum accumulated on tax money withheld by 500 tax resisters.

Odds and Ends

—That welcome-home-POW gala that was supposed to fill the Cotton Bowl with 70,000 appreciative Americans. . . . It drew "about 32,000."

—*The Nation,* in an editorial contrasting Watergate and Britain's current call-girl "scandal": ". . . the British get off lightly, by Watergate standards. In the first place, their erring officials were misled by the human weakness of lust instead of the inhuman one of power lust. And in the second place, Mr. Heath was in no way inhibited from demanding and accepting the resignations of the crest-fallen lords. Mr. Nixon would be a happy man today if inappropriate sexual exuberance were all he had to cope with in his official family. But no one can accuse that malign crowd of careless fornication—worse luck."

JOHN DEEDY



Vadillo, *Siempre,* Mexico

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CORRESPONDENCE

Shielding the Newsman

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: While I found "The Rights of Reporters," by Thomas Powers [May 25] very interesting, I would like to take this opportunity to correct one interpretation of the author placed upon S. 1128, the bill I introduced to create a testimonial privilege for newsmen. Mr. Powers correctly pointed out that under my bill a newsman could not refuse to testify in respect to a crime committed in his presence. But the bill says nothing about the newsman's being compelled to testify to a confession he has received from a criminal. In fact, precisely the contrary result is contemplated. A newsman is not compelled under the bill to testify to what he is told by a source—even if this constitutes a confession—but only to a crime which he has personally observed.

SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate

Academic Freedom

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

To the Editors: Father Ellis' reference to the American Association of University Professors' policy on academic freedom in church-related institutions [Apr. 27] is only partly correct and in sum, I believe, misleading. The 1967 statement referred to by Fr. Ellis was not a policy statement but a "working paper" by a special committee set up to clarify the "religious limitations" clause of the 1940 *Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure*. The 1967 statement was never promulgated but was superseded in effect by the 1970 statement of Committee A which concluded (after indicating its agreement with the Catholic University Board of Inquiry's recommendation that any "concessionary restrictive clause" be excised from a Catholic

(Continued on page 366)

NEWS AND VIEWS: 346 **CORRESPONDENCE:** 347
EDITORIALS: 347
THE GATHERING OF THE CHARISMATICS: *Robert J. Armbruster* 348
POLITICAL INFIGHTING IN ENGLAND: *Brian Wicker* 349
ON MORALITY AND MORALISM: *Michael Novak* 351
NOT WORKING ON THE RAILROADS: *Edward T. Chase* 352
THE POST-CONCILIAR CHURCH: ASIA, The Church and Change: *Tissa Balasuriya* 354
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* 359
BOOKS: TRICKLE DOWN, WITH RADICAL CHIC: *Edward S. Herman and Richard B. Du Boff* 360
REVIEWS: *Richard P. McBrien, Anne Fremantle* 363
ILLUSTRATIONS: *Front cover: Accident at Ashtabula, Ohio, 1876*

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ON HONOR

Graduations didn't make much news this year—except for two. At Florida Technological University President Nixon told 800 graduates "what is right about this country." Far back in the audience, students waved signs saying, "Confess!" And at West Point, as recorded by a genuinely heartbreaking story that should win a Pulitzer Prize for Linda Greenhouse and the *New York Times* (June 7), Cadet James J. Pelosi came to the end of an ordeal that no young man in a supposedly civilized country should have to endure.

Cadet Pelosi had suffered "the silence." In November 1971 he had been accused and convicted of violating the honor system by writing in his blue book after the end of the exam. His conviction was overruled because an academy officer had prejudiced his case; but, according to an old West Point tradition, he could be ostracized if he refused to resign. Pelosi said he was innocent and decided to prove it by submitting to the cruelty of his comrades. During the next year-and-a-half the honorable cadets froze him out, threatened him anonymously over the phone, threw things at him at dinner, rifled his mail and dragged his gym clothes through the latrine. At graduation some of his classmates shook his hand; others may continue the freeze for the rest of his career.

Perhaps oblivious to the situation, the commencement speaker, Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reminded the gaduates how years ago the military profession was being "derided and devalued" by its critics. And, the same day, at the Air Force Academy, Senator Barry Goldwater told the graduates to preserve the military traditions of honor. This was a class that had lost forty percent of its members through cheating scandals and disaffection and where, according to an Academy psychiatrist, many translated the honor system to mean "don't get caught."

It is painfully clear to James Pelosi, to yet another unnamed West Point cadet who is still being psychologically tortured, and to any sensitive person who has read the news accounts, that the Academy that claims to have institutionalized honor has neither a mature concept of what honor is nor a sense of human decency.

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Unfortunately, Federal Judge Whitman Knapp has just dismissed a suit from six cadets challenging the constitutionality of the honor code. Yet Congress, which funds the Academies and helps select their students, can take a hard look at these so-called honor codes and get the Academies to drop them. They have not prevented academies cheating. Only creative, vigilant teachers can do that. They have not encouraged moral maturity. Only an atmosphere of honesty can do that. Nor have they prevented their graduates from blowing up villages filled with civilians, inflating body counts, covering up massacres and ordering illegal bombing raids.

Honor is the quality of personal integrity. It is not achieved by slavish obedience to unjust rules. Nor is it bestowed by graduation nor enhanced by ribbons, bars and stars. It is won slowly by a lifetime of small decisions where one puts the virtues of compassion and justice ahead of his own advancement. James Pelosi may have it. His classmates—and all those who sanctioned his torment—do not.

The Gathering Of the Charismatics

You might call it a convention of grass-roots U.S. Catholicism, but there were enough nonRoman Catholic Christians and foreigners to make that description inadequate. There were enough playful aspects to make it look like a "religious Woodstock festival," but the serious emphasis on personal and communal Christian renewal makes that description inadequate.

At any rate, a huge pray-in—the International Conference on Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church—took place at the University of Notre Dame earlier this month. Seven years ago fewer than a hundred "Catholic Pentecostals" met at Notre Dame. This year cars, buses, trains and chartered airplanes brought some 20,000 to 25,000 persons to South Bend for the conference. Conference organizers had studied Army field manuals to prepare to handle the crowd, and the football stadium, for the first time, was used to hold the major sessions. There were people of all ages, with large numbers under 25. The conference chairman, Joel Kibler, graduated from Notre Dame two years ago.

Cardinal Leon-Joseph Suenens of Malines-Brussels, Belgium, the top ecclesiastic at the conference, referred to charismatic renewal as a surprise of the Holy Spirit. The conference ended June 3, the tenth anniversary of the death of Pope John XXIII, who had prayed, "Renew your wonders in our day, as by a new Pentecost." Ten years ago, who would have thought Catholicism would be in for a charismatic renewal and that Catholics would be praying in tongues? One cannot recall any liberal group planning for it, nor any conservative prophets of doom expressing a fear that it would happen.

Originally ridiculed by many Catholic liberals, the movement has now caught up one of its favorites, Cardinal Suenens, who admits in the June issue of *New Covenant*, the charismatic renewal magazine, that he's prayed for the baptism of the Holy Spirit (what many charismatics think the Sacrament of Confirmation should be). Auxiliary Bishop Joseph McKinney of Grand Rapids, Mich., episcopal adviser to the charismatic renewal, says he thought he would be persecuted for his involvement, but he finds he's something of a celebrity, becoming known as "that Pentecostal bishop." He went to Australia to attend the International Eucharistic Congress and to see friends from his seminary days, and was invited to give nine major addresses.

Bishop McKinney told a press conference he strongly suspects charismatic renewal will be America's greatest contribution to the history of Catholicism. "It is the best tool I know of that God has provided for our times," he declared. He described the movement's beginnings at Duquesne U. in Pittsburgh this way: "Some college students made a retreat and took it seriously."

The movement is no longer just an American phenomenon. At Notre Dame, there were large numbers of Canadians, as well as delegations from Mexico, Australia and France, a bishop from Haiti, and missionaries from Brazil, Japan, Bangladesh, Ghana and other countries. The presence of a delegation from Puerto Rico—where the movement is reportedly spreading rapidly—prompted Father George Kosicki of Detroit, a prominent priest in the renewal, to express the hope that Puerto Rican charismatics will be a bridge between Christians in North and South America. A special session was held in Spanish, and at press conferences questions were asked in French for the benefit of French-Canadian television viewers.

A frequent criticism is that charismatics show little social concern, but at this convention, much more so than in the past, the idea seemed to be well accepted that charismatics—as all Christians—must be concerned about social justice. "Every human need, every human problem must be a concern of ours," the keynoter, Father Harold Cohen, S.J., of Loyola University in New Orleans, declared, citing such problems as war, abortion, racial injustice, problems of migrants, overcrowded cities and slum housing, unemployment, prison conditions, disease and environmental problems. Several workshops were devoted to such topics as "Social Action" and "Race and Religion."

Father Cohen's well-received address—discussed in advance with other leaders and fellow Jesuits in the movement—seemed to be a message from the charismatic renewal to the larger church. He pledged the loyalty and obedience of charismatics to the bishops and the Pope, urging priests and bishops to be involved

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with the renewal, and requesting Pope Paul's discernment "to make a judgment about the true nature and proper use of charismatic gifts, not 'to extinguish the Spirit, but to test all things and hold fast to what is good.'" His pledge of loyalty to Pope Paul—"We are founded on this rock, and on this rock we stand"—was accorded a long, standing ovation, described as a way of saying 'Amen' in a football stadium, and the spontaneous singing of an Alleluia.

He urged reciprocal communication between charismatic groups and bishops, asked bishops to encourage priests to give groups their sacramental ministry and theological knowledge, and suggested that bishops pray with their priests and with charismatics. Cohen noted that theology is an aid to discernment—a word much used among charismatics—and said that, if leaders of groups do not have a theological background, they should be open to people who do. The strong desire for the guidance of priests and bishops manifested by the conference participants caused Father Cohen to observe that, if the charismatic renewal does not develop intelligently, no one will be more at fault than the bishops and priests.

Cardinal Suenens' endorsement was the highest the renewal has received. He praised what he called the sound theology and wisdom of the conference speakers and the overall common sense of the multitude. There may have been a few exceptions to the overall common sense, but, the Cardinal said, when you turn on a light in the darkness, you are always in danger from mosquitoes.

The Cardinal described the charismatic renewal as a current of grace which will eventually disappear as a movement— becoming part of the life-blood of the Church—because everybody will have accepted it, just as the liturgical movement declined when the liturgy went into the vernacular. He observed that the renewal offers opportunities for spontaneous piety which youth seems particularly interested in, and said there has been and continues to be a need for structural reform in the Church, but there is also a need for interior renewal. Noting the ecumenical possibilities the renewal offers, he said, "We need really to pray for unity together—not only to discuss theology together." (NonRoman Catholics were asked not to receive the Eucharist at the conference's Roman Catholic liturgies. On Sunday morning, an Episcopal priest celebrated a mass—attended by some 500 persons—and gave Communion to every baptized Christian who wished to receive.)

The highlight of the weekend for many was the closing liturgy in the football stadium, concelebrated by some 600 priests, with Archbishop James Hayes of Halifax, Nova Scotia, as principal celebrant and Cardinal Suenens as homilist. One priest said he has celebrated Mass at St. Peter's Basilica and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but this was the most moving Mass he has ever participated in.

In his homily, Cardinal Suenens noted that his motto is "In Spiritu Sancto," and urged his listeners not to be afraid to announce the Good News of Jesus Christ with joy and love, as "Often people are more than ready to listen, but we are not ready to speak." He also told them, "Be filled with the Holy Spirit, and you will renew the face of the Church and the face of the Earth."

It is sometimes said that an effort of charismatic renewal is a renewed, balanced devotion to Mary. The Cardinal encouraged such devotion, and received a standing ovation. A standing ovation during a homily may seem emotional, but one imagines the crowds in the Notre Dame stadium are at least as emotional on some autumn afternoons. There's no doubt the Cardinal scored with the charismatics, and he was impressed, too, thanking the charismatics on behalf of the Church. "Thank you for the future coming out of this," he concluded.

ROBERT J. ARMBRUSTER

(Robert J. Armbruster, formerly a reporter for the Bergen Record, *is a free-lance writer.)*

Political Infighting In England

A few reflections from England on our own political infighting might be useful just now as a distraction from the Watergate affair, which—to judge from our own newspapers and radio—must have pretty well blotted out every other kind of news in America recently. So here goes.

Not so very long ago—say three months—it looked as though we were in for a prolonged and increasingly bitter confrontation between the trade unions and the government over the second phase of Mr. Heath's Nixon-style incomes- and (supposed) price-freeze. The trouble, as usual, was that when the portcullis came down, stopping any more people from crossing into the privileged sanctuary where pay rises had been granted, a number of groups were left stranded on the drawbridge entrance into what many Conservatives already regarded as a castle of indolence. In particular, the gas workers and the hospital workers (i.e., the people who cook, clean, launder and generally lubricate the wheels of hospital routine) got caught on the wrong side of the barrier, and naturally took umbrage. The subsequent strikes went on for some time, and got quite nasty, largely because they affected the rest of the public in a direct way. Yet in the end they subsided, without any major breach being made in Heath's economic defenses. Since then, the unions have shown remarkably

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little taste for fighting the government. A threatened strike at Ford's has quietly melted away, since it became clear there was no enthusiasm for such action at the various Ford plants. Even more significant, Hugh Scanlon, the powerful general secretary of the Engineering unions, recently made a speech in which he spoke of the need for negotiation with the government without any direct mention of a prior requirement—hitherto *de rigueur* in any trade union policy statement—to repeal the Industrial Relations Act *in toto* before 'meaningful' talks could begin. So just now, it looks as though we may be in for a short cool summer in the industrial relations world—probably matching the weather!

One of the notable things about the hospital workers' strike was the lack of support from other unions over a case which, on merit alone, should have elicited a great deal of trade union sympathy. The hospital workers have always been wretchedly underpaid, and taken for granted. Their main union has never been very active or noisy, and perhaps they have paid for this by being left out of the rat-race. In future, I suspect, they will be much more 'militant' than they have been in the past. But if the government is getting away with a good deal on the trade union front just now, it is having a less troublefree time with some members of the political opposition. In particular, Mr. Anthony Wedgwood-Benn, the Labor 'shadow' minister for Trade and Industry, has been niggling them in a number of tender places lately.

Some months ago, Mr. Benn made a number of criticisms of the BBC which earned him much abuse from journalists: for part of his theme was that there was too much hidden 'management' and self-censorship of news in the media, far too little chance of access to the media by the ordinary person. Then a couple of weeks ago, he again resumed the theme of the rights of the man-in-the-street when he objected to the proposed offering of the Rolls-Royce motor division to private shareholders. His argument was that, as part of the bankrupt Rolls-Royce engineering empire, now being kept going by public subsidy, the motor division (the one really profitable part of the organization) was in effect, if not in strictly legal terms, a public asset, and should be regarded as such. It was wrong, therefore, to sell it to private enterprise, over the heads of the workers in it (whose skills are its only real asset) just when the unprofitable parts of the company were being kept alive by huge sums of taxpayers' money.

Mr. Benn did not ingratiate himself with the share-owning community by adding that, in his view, it ought to be Labor Party policy to nationalize major companies like Rolls-Royce without compensation. Naturally, this tactically mistaken irrelevancy was seized upon by the media almost to the exclusion of Mr. Benn's main point, which seems to me eminently just: namely the right of the workers and the public to control their own affairs. Unfortunately, as the media also pointed out, the workers in Rolls-Royce themselves apparently had no objection to their company's being sold off to private investors. But this again was beside the main point, which was that Mr. Benn was arguing for the rights of workers in companies to have some say in the fate of the enterprise to which they are committed. However, as it turned out, the men in the City and the Conservative Party who had such fun with what they regarded as Mr. Benn's naive socialist fundamentalism, were not in a very strong position themselves. For soon afterwords the ugly face of capitalism began to show itself in the shape of a nasty piece of skullduggery in the boardroom of Lonrho, a finance company with big interests in Africa. Even Mr. Heath had to admit that here capitalism was revealing itself in an unsavory light. Today it is even being darkly said in some quarters that the only reason why more dirty Lonrho washing has not been exposed to public view is that this might indirectly implicate Royalty, since Princess Alexandra's husband, Angus Ogilvy, used to be a Lonrho director. However they may be, it seems clear that the Lonrho affair was a gift to Mr. Benn.

Yet his theme of 'only connect' was not widely echoed by the media. What has Lonrho got to do with Rolls-Royce, they seemed to be asking, with innocent surprise. Of course the theme of 'only connect' is one of the most dangerous and unpopular of themes to invoke in politics, as Americans know only too well just now. And it could easily backfire on Mr. Benn too. If there is a weak link in Mr. Benn's chain of criticisms of current capitalist behavior, it is not so much in anything he has recently said, nor even in the image he projects in saying it (though his upperclass connections, his schoolmasterly Oxbridge manner, etc., are liable to boomerang in his face): it is his own record as a Wilsonian technocrat. In particular, his enthusiastic espousal of the Concorde project consorts very awkwardly with his espousal of the common man's cause. No doubt the fact that he sits for a Bristol constituency, where many Concorde jobs would be at stake if the project were canceled, is far from irrelevant to his position on this issue. But such a 'connection' is hardly good enough to warrant the advocacy of something which is blatantly designed for the benefit of a tiny minority of big-businessmen, show-biz personalities and other VIPs whose interests diverge widely from those of the workers whose cause he has elsewhere taken up. Once you start on the theme of 'only connect' there is no knowing where it may lead you. And one of the special constant dangers in British politics is that your own class-origins are always and inescapably there to trip you up. That is what always seems to be happening to Mr. Benn.

BRIAN WICKER

(*Brian Wicker is* Commonweal's *regular correspondent in Great Britain.*)

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ON MORALITY AND MORALISM

MICHAEL NOVAK

Jean-Paul Sartre has argued convincingly that in every human action a universal moral claim is silently made. If you believe that draft resistance—or dieting—is a good action for you to undertake, then implicitly you commit yourself to the claim that your action is a good action for anyone like you in a similar situation. In this fashion, Sartre denounces Anglo-American *laissez-faire* as a form of "bad faith," an infantile dodge. "What I do is my business; you do whatever *you* want." "Do your thing." Such a sentiment is either pre-moral or immoral. For human persons are not individuals merely, but members of a common humanity. The actions of one comment on the actions of others.

Every human act is symbolic. That is why someone who deviates from our own way of acting disconcerts us; criticism of us may well be implicit in his actions. Only with effort do we convince others that our divergences from them—refusing a cigarette—are not a condemnation.

The same is true of cultural or political criticism. Avoid the rhetoric of moral praise or blame as you will, if you take a different standpoint from that of your associates you are suggesting, symbolically, that they are wrong. Ordinarily, they are not appreciative.

A clutch of liberal persons, who believe in the stimulation of opposing points of view, is in practice (observe it empirically) especially prone to such sensitivity.

The distinction between moral discourse and moralism is, therefore, difficult to draw. Every word of political or cultural criticism is, implicitly, a moral judgment. Be the style ever so descriptive, ever so dry, the razor of moral perception slices the skin of others.

In the United States, the distinction between morality and moralism is even more difficult to observe. Gunnar Myrdal noted in *The American Creed* (1942) that the public forms of American speech are more explicitly moral than those of any other Western land. Our normal style of addressing one another is chiefly derived from the sermons of puritan and fundamentalist divines. Even our salesmen peddle faith, trust, service and hope. Our television commentators and columnists make a living moralizing. Cant is, as Reinhold Niebuhr warned us, the Anglo-American vice par excellence.

Thus, even to attack moralism here is, almost automatically, to indulge in moralism—at least if one would make oneself understood. Kurt Vonnegut seemed at first like a black humorist, cynical to the teeth; the full force of his own high moralism was hidden behind his howling attack on the moralisms around him. A true son of the Indiana Bible Belt. (Even our comedians are "social commentators.")

Trying to avoid moralism, it always amazes me when someone accuses me of moralizing. (Usually they are Irish.) A passionate intensity, yes. Serious, perhaps. (A dreadful sin to the English.)

The accusation teaches me that if I am unaware of the impact I am having, then perhaps they are unaware of the impact they are having. Peter Steinfels recently wrote in an olympian way: "If breast-beating there must be, it seems only appropriate to begin with the breast nearest at hand." I turned the page expectantly, but he didn't begin. Not a word. Did he mean *me?*

"Reconciliation expresses a reality for which many of us long," he writes in his next column. "But is it not also a slogan asking us to deny or ignore all that has been struggled over in the last seven years?" How hard it is to know which divisions are needless! "There are some things which we should not be reconciled about," he adds. These, presumably, are the essential moral issues that divide us.

But on essential moral issues, above all, it is crucial to be reconciled. In order to hold fervently to a moral position, it is not necessary to believe that those who hold the opposite are immoral. It is quite possible, even if we cannot see how, that our moral position is not genuinely moral; and that their position, which seems to us so immoral, is (as future, less involved critics may judge) more moral than ours.

America, Mr. Steinfels quotes Sister McAlister, "is a very forgetful nation, wiping from its consciousness all the underside of its history, its racism, ruthessness and imperialism, leaving itself unprepared to recognize and repair its immoral deeds." But what are the roots of this "forgetfulness," if not an exaggerated confidence in America's high moral destiny? America's self-deceptions do not arise out of cynicism. They arise, on the contrary, out of too clear-eyed, intense, and uncompromising a moral vision. "The New World." "America the Innocent." "The American heart is good."

It is exactly because the revisionist Left represented so well by Mr. Steinfels has taken over the traditional moralism of this nation's puritan past that many of us, perhaps too earnestly, plead that the Left abandon moralism. The new Left tends to see all political and cultural problems in divisive moral terms ("In essentials, division").

Catholics, it was once thought, tend to soften moral judgments in political and cultural matters, to expect a

(Continued on page 367)

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NOT WORKING ON THE RAILROADS

EDWARD T. CHASE

At stake is more than just the question of rail service

Nostalgia is the trend in books and films these days. The lovely things of the recent past. A bittersweet recollection among older vacationers to Maine is the memory of the pre-World War II overnight sleeper one could take out of New York and Philadelphia Friday evening to arrive refreshed early Saturday morning at Blue Hill and other points. Nowadays not a single passenger train operates in all Maine.

I muse about this as I observe that the Nixon Administration plans to abandon still more rail service as its ploy for meeting a Congressionally-mandated requirement to solve the problems of the Northeast's bankrupt railroads. Nostalgic memories. A decade back I served on a special transportation policy-planning staff for President Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce, and the problem had already become formidable. But at that time our focus was on how to serve the public's transportation needs. Nixon's Transportation Secretary, Claude S. Brinegar, has a contrary focus. "One of the primary factors that the Interstate Commerce Commission considers in determining public convenience and necessity is the public's need for service in the line," states Secretary Brinegar. "Whether or not this makes sense in the case of a solvent railroad, it clearly is not in the public interest to require a bankrupt railroad to continue to operate money-losing lines indefinitely, *no matter how great the need for service*" (italics mine).

At stake here is more than just the question of rail service, momentous though that is. At stake is the American environment—the country's physical and social condition—and the quality of living this environment engenders. His railroad policy is part of Nixon's across-the-board, systematic campaign "to slow down, to arrest or even to roll back public action designed to meet the growing challenges that threaten our society." These are the apt words of Harvard economics professor Wassily Leontief in deploring Nixon's "naive simplistic" view that a total government hands-off policy and uncontrolled power to the American private enterprise market system is the best way to meet all of today's problems.

There is a paradox here. The Nixon Administration is ideologically antagonistic to deliberately planned government intervention and devoted to what it considers private initiatives, particularly on the local grass-roots level. This is dangerous naiveté. For what it means is that the country is "planned" anyhow, but by unrationalized profit forces, oblivious to the overriding public interest. The effect can be debasing, as witness urban sprawl or the hopelessly unbalanced housing industry. Furthermore, of course, indirectly, disastrously, *unintentionally*, government policies "plan" the environment anyhow, as with tax policy. For instance, the Nixon Administration would not dream of involving itself in so socialistic an effort as land-use planning. Yet inheritance taxes, both state and federal, are a key determining factor as to whether or not we will have unending urban sprawl in the remaining great recreational areas near our biggest cities where there is still farming, as in Santa Clara County in California or Suffolk County, Long Island. The land is almost invariably taxed on the basis of what it is worth on the real estate market for developers, not on its agricultural revenues. Thus farms have to be sold to meet these taxes no matter how devoted the farmers' children may be to continuing their farm way of life. The consequence is speculative land

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development, immediate increased population densities and the train of supporting highways, gas stations, motels, water systems, shopping centers etc., needed to cope with the higher densities of urban sprawl.

Now the point here is that basic public policy in any one area—whether it is to succor or eliminate bankrupt railroads, or undifferentiated inheritance taxes—has significant impact on seemingly unrelated areas, so great is the interdependence of our technological society. That is why social accounting of costs and benefits is a matter of mounting interest.

The phase-out of railroads not only isolates communities both in terms of passenger and freight facilities; also among its repercussions are indirect social costs such as environmental pollution (more trucks and highways) and also *direct* costs, such as an increase in the cost of doing business consequent upon diminished transportation facilities. Transportation comprises the biggest single combination of economic activity in the nation, about a fifth to a quarter of the gross national product. Transportation is a major cost factor in all commercial enterprise, so the system's health is of grave importance. Today six of the 11 major Northeast railroads are in receivership and the giant Penn Central is slated virtually to expire by October. Spokesmen for the Nixon Administration seem not unduly alarmed—loss of public services is the least of their worries in any area—and refer to available truck lines. But while it is true that trucks are cheaper short-haul carriers, up to 400 miles, railroads can move twice as many ton-miles of freight as trucks while consuming only half as much fuel. Railroads occupy less than one-thirteenth of the land used by the federal-aid highways alone, and they could handle double their present tonnage without using any additional land. As it is, the railroads now transport 76 percent of all autos and parts, 74 percent of all canned and frozen foods, 86 percent of all paper and pulp, 73 percent of all cotton and 70 percent of all coal shipped. They are, in a word, indispensable.

No Easy Way

In truth there is no cheap panacea for the railroad problem. The most exasperating factor is, overwhelmingly, passenger train service. And it is plain that tax-derived general subsidy is the only possible way to save any substantial portion of the surviving passenger services. Comprehensive cost-benefit studies weighting indirect social costs and benefits can determine what lines must be abandoned, what ones must be supported. Some kind of expanded Amtrak operation has to replace the faltering private companies' system, as in Europe and Japan. There is no blinking the fact that passenger services cost the railroads some $11¼ billion since 1950. And at one point the railroads did try. In 1958, in a last major effort the railroads spent $28 million on advertising to promote passenger service. Only in the World War II period, with gas rationing, however, has there been any major patronage of the rails since the explosion in airplane and auto usage.

The technology of air travel is unbeatable for long haul passenger service: it takes, for example, 9 hours to go by train between Los Angeles and San Francisco, whereas there are some 15,000 low-price air seats daily for this 50 minute flight. Small wonder there are fewer rail passengers today than at any time since 1880. Nor is the airplane the principal culprit. The private automobile accounts for nine-tenths of all intercity passenger travel. Why not? The subsidy of highways and their accoutrements has been overwhelming, while the railroads have been treated as dangerous monopolistic threats and forced to pay ruinous taxes, in the East for example the railroads having to meet local real estate taxes alone that amount to 7 percent of their total gross revenue.

Thus a vicious circle occurs, as branch line after branch line becomes a costly superfluity, pressuring the railroads to abandon all but their remnant of profitable lines. Actually in the East the only three lines that prosper are the coal freight lines, the Norfolk & Western, the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Baltimore & Ohio, all fortuitously blessed with ownership of coal deposits in West Virginia. Most of the Eastern lines have been 19th-century creations built to serve 300 miles or less, anthracite coal carriers, a product made obsolete by oil.

So today we confront the situation of an Administration and Congress prepared to expedite the abandonment of passenger and also freight services whose profitability is not assured. The logic of this is offered as manifest. The fact is that it is the snap logic of the private balance sheet. The commanding logic lies rather in the comprehensive accounting of social costs and benefits—not only increased environmental degradation from automotive congestion and pollution, not only the social outrage of a class discrimination that leaves the poor without the mobility provided by common carriage, but the fact that this nation cannot possibly afford the virtual demise of much of its railroad system—in the next decade alone there will be a 48 percent increase in the nation's freight traffic.

The question comes, thereafter, to what it would cost the federal government to underwrite or take over the railroads as governments have learned they must in the rest of the world. Plenty, but it's only money, not the livability of our national environment, and it is quite evidently the most realistic expedient as other nations have long since discovered. One estimate is that nationalization requires a purchase price of $60 billion, plus $2 billion of annual debt financing and, over a 10-year period, essential capital improvement of some $36 billion, along with a loss of $1 billion annually in taxes. Despite the fact that this could be the start of a true rationalization of our presently chaotic national rail sys-

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tem, with its vast inefficiences and could mean a crucial contribution in public service, the likelihood of the Nixon Administration or the Congress turning in this direction is of course less than zero. Even such recommendations as devising some national "authority" (like a super Port Authority, or a kind of nationwide holding company like the American Telephone and Telegraph Company) are totally out of consideration at this juncture, alas.

And we'll be sorry. Just as we will be sorry for the same cruel and inane dismantlement of the great social programs—manpower training, housing, community action, public works for depressed areas, education funds, community health centers, sewage treatment, model cities—that comprise our imperfect yet essential welfare state. The paradox has been proven again and again: instead of strengthening the private market system, such liquidation of these programs destroys the social substructure that is impervious to market forces but which is critically necessary to the functioning of the national economy. It is from this perspective that the wholesale abandonment of rail services is seen to be another instance of cynical and frivolous dereliction that passes for hard-nosed reality in Nixon's Washington.

With respect to the railroads the people are way ahead of the politicians. In cities of one million or over, the population now favors nationalization by a substantial majority. This reflects the urbanite's grim experience in observing the squalor, congestion and inefficiency of the journey to work and home when precedence is given to the bondholders and creditors benefiting from private automotive facilities instead of now non-existent first-rate mass transportation. The ancient truth is that there is no way that the operating costs of mass transport can be met on a user-charge basis: there must be support from the corporations and state institutions, indeed the entire social system, which could not exist without this transport. The private profit-fueled price market system can perform wonders, but not in every sphere, schooling being obviously one, another being intercity as well as intracity rail services.

THE POST-CONCILIAR CHURCH: ASIA

THE CHURCH AND CHANGE

TISSA BALASURIYA

Christianity is an Asian religion in its origins. A few Christian groups still trace their beginnings to the Apostolic times—e.g., St. Thomas Christians in India. But the living Catholicism in most of Asia started mainly after the year 1500 with the European expansion in Asia. In a few places such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka the Catholic tradition goes back to 450 years. In most of Asia, however, it is less than 150 years.

From the 16th century till the beginning of this century the general and popular concept of mission among European peoples was that they had to save the rest of mankind from paganism by conversion to Christianity. The forward march of the Western armies and merchants helped this process. Hence missionaries joined hands with traders and colonizers to civilize and save the rest of the world in Asia, Africa and the Americas.

In more recent decades this was altered to a view that Christianity had to be implanted in the different countries of the world. The Church had the function of purifying (and not destroying) these cultures. With Vatican II the idea of dialogue and respect for the spiritual values of these religions became widespread.

In the last eight to ten years the concept of the salvific value of these religions also is gaining ground. It is now admitted that Christians too can learn something regarding God and salvation from the other religions. In the last 3-4 years the concept of salvation of individuals and even nations is giving way to the idea of a world mission in which every people has to learn and can teach something to others. Salvation is being understood as more closely related to justice and the building of the fraternal community of man on earth. This is the Kingdom of God, of which institutional Churches are signs and means—sacramental expressions. Though the theory of the mission has changed among the more advanced Christian groups, the old mentality still largely prevails in practice.

In numbers, the Philippines are a significant exception with a population about 90 percent Christian, of whom over 82 percent are Catholics. The Philippines, with about 27 million Catholics, are among the most numerous of Catholic populations in the world. India (7 millions), Indonesia (2 millions) Vietnam (1.5 millions), and Sri Lanka (1 million) are the next in num-

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bers of Catholics in Asia. North Vietnam and South Korea have between 500,000-800,000 Catholics. Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, Iraq, Burma, Thailand, Pakistan and Japan have between 100,000-400,000. Laos, Cambodia, Iran, Afghanistan and Nepal have less than 100,000 Catholics.

Altogether there are between 45-50 million Catholics in Asia out of a total population of nearly 2,000 millons, i.e., about 2 percent. Excluding the Philippines the average is less than 1 percent of the population.

Characteristics

What are some of the characteristics of Asian Catholicism? Very important is its minority consciousness (always excluding the Philippines). This pervades almost every perspective and discussion among Asian Catholics. It is somewhat mitigated only in Kerala, Sri Lanka, South Vietnam and parts of Indonesia.

Catholicism came to Asia in recent centuries hand in hand with the Western colonizers, both military and commercial. This has deeply hurt the Asian peoples and remains imprinted in their memories, particularly due to the intolerant attitudes of the Catholic missioners themselves toward the local religions, languages, cultures and traditions.

Catholics did not integrate themselves with the main socio-cultured groups in the Asian countries. They went chiefly to the small depressed groups, foreign migrants, and those who suffered psychological and physical disabilities, e.g., lepers, aged, orphans, handicapped. This was partly within the evangelical tradition. But it was partly an escape from the more difficult task of relating to healthy, normal people, socially integrated groups and living cultures.

Hence almost everywhere Catholics are sociological minorities, in addition to being so demographically. In North India they are from the depressed castes or are from the South. In Burma they are Katchins, Karens, Shans, Chinese, Chins and Anglo-Indians, but very few Burmans. In Thailand they are mainly Vietnamese and Chinese. Likewise in Cambodia, they are Vietnamese and Europeans. In South Vietnam they are of Chinese origin and refugees from the North. In Malaysia, Catholics are mainly Chinese, Indians, Ceylonese and Europeans—there are hardly any Malays. In Indonesia many of the Catholics are Chinese. This characteristic makes Catholics a double minority and gives them a defensive complex.

In most Asian countries the Church is foreign in that the leadership, especially the clergy and religious, are foreign. While this witnesses to the international character of the Church, it adds to the foreign image of the Church. The liturgy, ritual, architecture, dress of the clergy and religious, canon law, allegiance to Rome and dependence on Western countries also contribute to render Catholics in Asia seem less one with their countrymen.

Asian Catholicism is in general culturally still foreign to Asia, and distant from the majority of the people and the main cultural currents of their countries. Buddhism, Islam, and even Hinduism are integrated within the different Asian cultures. Thus Buddhism is Ceylonese in Sri Lanka, Burmese in Burma, Thai in Thailand, Cambodian in Cambodia, Vietnamese in Vietnam; and likewise integrated in Indonesia, China, Korea and Japan. The basic message is similar, but the expression is local. So is even Asian Marxism. But Asian Catholicism is throughout quite uniform—generally Roman, Western and middle-class. It lacks flexibility, suppleness and growth from the base or grass roots. While Asia represents two-thirds of humanity and is extremely diverse, Catholicism in Asia except for very recent marginal trends here and there is rather uniform and more closely resembles European Catholicism of nearly half a century ago. This is so not merely in externals but in basic mentalities. Catholics in general form a ghetto, and the institutions of the Church such as parishes, schools, seminaries and religious homes tend to be ghettos within a ghetto.

Catholicism has adapted itself in many ways to animism which is part of the popular (not philosophical) religion of many Asian peoples. The belief in the influence of good and bad spirits, times, places, charms and planets is quite widespread. There are rituals, prayers, processions and sacrifices to appease these spirits and neutralize the bad influences. Catholicism, coming especially from the Latin countries, has related rather successfully to this mentality. Asian Catholics are much given to devotions of propitiation and invocation. Novenas, processions and special patrons like St. Anthony, St. Sebastian and St. Jude have a large following among us. This is both a strength and a weakness of Asian Catholicism.

Asian Catholicism subserves the world socio-economic and political establishment dominated by the Western powers of Europe and North America. This is true not only of the past but also of the neo-colonial era today. Catholicism also allies itself with the ruling classes of the right-wing countries. Its teaching, the lifestyle of

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clergy and religious, socio-political options—all tend in this direction. On the other hand Asian Catholicism has been uncomfortable with left-wing policies and socialist trends, e.g., in China, Indonesia and Vietnam.

Asian Catholicism is oriented vertically to Rome, Europe and North America, rather than horizontally to the Catholic Churches in Asia, the other Christians in the same country or the believers of different faiths close by. This link is in personnel, finance, ideology, organizational relationships through religious families and missionary orders. It expresses itself in travel, correspondence, language medium, priestly and religious formation, socio-political options, devotions, lay apostolate groups etc. Asian Churches seldom meet each other. Each of them is more concerned with a relationship to a "mother country," congregation or movement in Western Europe or North America. The seats of decision-making are generally in Europe or North America.

Contributions

Catholicism has made positive contributions to Asia. Catholicism, like the other Christian denominations, has first and foremost made known Jesus Christ and the Scriptures in the Asian countries. Asian people deeply appreciate Jesus of Nazareth. They accept the simple evangelical values. Naturally they do so within the framework of their traditions.

Catholicism has borne witness to certain spiritual values, especially the dedication to the poor and needy. Christians have been influential in enhancing the dignity of man and the respect for the downtrodden in our countries. Christianity has counteracted forces of fatalism which tended to blame physical and other evils on one's past life. It has brought an element of rationality in the face of life's problems both personal and social.

Social service of a person-to-person nature has been a distinct contribution of Christians in all the Asian countries from Palestine to Taiwan. They have helped to fight such social evils as caste and race among Asians.

Catholicism has also made a special contribution to the development of modern education in Asia. Catholic schools are important educational institutions in every major city of Asia. Catholic villages have consistently had the advantage of education even at a rudimentary level. The schools helped prepare the first generation of Asian middle-class leaders who were able to continue the administration of the countries after colonial rule.

Further, the openness of modern Asian to science and technology has been helped by the Christian presence. In a sense the spread of socialistic ideas have been indirectly helped by the knowledge of Jesus Christ and the gospels, even if the institutional Church has not had a predilection for socialism.

The organization of parishes, dioceses, schools, social services and the media of communication have given Catholics a sense of cohesiveness. They are much admired for their organizational ability. In the more recent trend towards "development" activities, Christians have been a medium of contact with the West and a base for a widespread organization of relief, aid and development projects as in Bangladesh, India and Indonesia.

In addition Catholics have given a special testimony to new forms of religious living through the witness of the religious, especially the nuns. The 60,000 nuns in Asia have contributed immensely to the development of women, long underprivileged in Asian countries.

All in all, the Church has borne witness to spiritual values of a personal nature. What it has not done is in relation to the larger socio-poiltical aspects of life; in this it has subserved the world and the local establishments.

Areas of Renewal

The first external impact after Vatican II was in the liturgy with the change in the language medium and the turning of the main altar inside the churches to face the people. All Asian countries have now gone through this process. In a good many cities English has replaced Latin, thus catering to the Westernized groups in our countries. The Church is now better related to the native languages in most places.

In some countries, such as in India, attempts are being made to adapt the liturgy, especially the Eucharistic celebration, to the local customs and religious practices. This, however, is not a pronounced feature in Asia partly due to the strong tradition of the Roman liturgy and partly because the youth themselves are being fast modernized. The desirability of relating the liturgy to contemporary needs is more recognized, though the means for doing so are not much developed. It is mainly in small groups and in religious houses that such efforts are being made, with or without official sanction of the authorities.

The catechetical renewal too has a fairly widespread influence on the Asian Churches. The nuns have been among the main agents of change in this. The accent is on the understanding of God as love and religion as not merely obligatory. However, this movement is still mainly restricted to children and the school. A major change is taking place in the Philippines where the East Asia Pastoral Institute (EAPI) has spearheaded a program of linking the catechetical movement to the liturgy and the social program in some dioceses. These are increasingly inspired by the theology of liberation which is gaining ground in the Philippines. What the catechetical movement lacks in most Asian countries is the orientation to socio-economic and political issues, especially in terms of a strategy of action.

In Inter-Christian Ecumenism all the Asian Catholic

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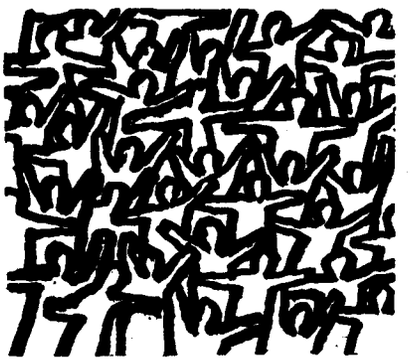
Churches have gone through the process of getting rid of the anti-Protestant prejudices that they inherited congenitally. Nevertheless co-operation is still limited to a once-a-year exchange of pulpits in Unity week, some cautious collaboration in Bible translation and dissemination, and action together in relation to governments as in Pakistan or relief and rehabilitation as in Bangladesh. There is informal cooperation among student and youth movements. While official ecumenism moves carefully, the more radical groups of Christians are getting together for social action and even worship without much reference to the Church authorities. Thus the official ecumenical movement is in a way being bypassed by trends of a more radical nature which the institutional Churches are slow to sponsor.

A most significant area of change is in the relationship to other religions. Prior to the Vatican Council, Catholic policy was hardly respectful of other religions. Since then Asian Churches have been taking the lead in the movement of inter-religious understanding. Relations have improved in all the countries—including the states with Muslim majorities, such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Malaysia. Catholics are less worried about Buddhism or Islam as the official or semi-official state religion, as in Burma, Thailand, Pakistan or Sri Lanka. They are also acclimatized to the "secular" approach, of governments such as in India, Bangladesh, Singapore and Japan. The Christians cooperate with other religions in social action—which is generally of a right-wing nature. They are together in a certain fear of Marxism, in opposing the laxity in morals, in wanting religious education and celebrating national festivals. In Vietnam, Indonesia and Sri Lanka there are Congresses of Religion supported by all the major religions. Kyoto in Japan was the venue of a meeting of World Religions a couple of years ago. The situation has thus substantially improved in the past ten years.

The Churches are also increasingly more open to the Asian cultures. In the bigger agglomerations of Catholics, especially in India, there is much writing and action towards an integration of Christianity within the indigenous culture. This is still, however, a slow and reluctant process for many of the smaller churches. The problem is further complicated by the fast emergence of a new youth culture which is more cosmopolitan and rather secular.

The traditional social action of the Churches in Asia has been social service. In a few countries there has been an active anti-Communist policy and activity as in Indonesia, Kerala and Taiwan. The last five to six years have seen the growth of interest in action for development. This was mainly relief and rehabilitation as in Bangladesh and parts of India and sometimes action for community development and cooperation. Foreign missionaries have been particularly interested in these ventures and thus intensified the links between Churches in Asia and those of Europe and America. Action for social justice through change of the social structures is not a characteristic enterprise of Church-related groups except in the Philippines.

A more recent trend is that in almost every country a few dynamic small groups of more alert persons are opting in favor of action for justice and freedom in society and the Church. These are composed of laity, religious and priests—mostly of the younger age group. They are generally not supported by the local Church authorities. The religious congregations and lay movements are more open to them. These groups try to take



action concerning ongoing issues in favor of the poor.

In many Churches there is now a serious division of opinion concerning such groups. The lay apostolate groups tend to get divided between the traditional and the radical approaches; similarly, religious congregations and priests. In certain countries the Bishops' Conference too is not of one mind or is clearly divided, as in the Philippines, concerning the present emergency. It is to be expected that in the future this division within Church groups will grow. This is also a source of division in Catholic associations of students and workers. This divergence implies a difference in theology, spirituality and socio-political options.

In general it can be said that there is a deep division in thinking among Asian Catholics, but it does not assert itself openly due to the minority situation of the Churches and to the Asian mentality of not expressing dissent exteriorly. The Asians have a respect for authority and age; hence they do not oppose them publicly. Even when there is no consensus, there is an apparent, external harmony. Dissent takes place in action. The elders, too, respect to some extent the views of the dissenters and do not like to oppose them openly and in public even when they disagree. Thus the confrontation or contestation takes place in a different manner—as among members of a closely knit family. The relationships of persons and groups have to be understood in this context.

Among priests, especially the younger ones, there is a search for a new identity different from the sacramentalist type of priesthood that Asians themselves traditionally had. They want new forms of ministry, especially related to people's social options. They wish to be able

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to earn their living and be responsible for their own lives. There is a slow but significant exodus from the priesthood in every Asian country. Vocations are beginning to fall. Seminarians have been demanding adaptation of their studies and way of life. Diocesan seminaries have not changed much; but religious houses of formation and those entrusted to religious are more open to the winds of change. A serious crisis of vocation and credibility is building up among the more creative among the priests in Asia. National associations of priests are nonexistent and generally not encouraged by bishops. The Philippines are once again an exception with the Philippine Priests Incorporated, PPI, which has a strong membership.

The Sisters in Asia, who number 60,000-65,000, are perhaps potentially the most important group in the Asian churches. They have taken renewal more seriously than any other group including the bishops. They are beginning to emancipate themselves from clerical male domination in the Church, and small but significant groups among them are now taking new orientations in theology, spirituality, work and life-styles. The liberated nun is becoming increasingly a catalyst of change in the Church. The Sisters are also a reconciling power in the Church, bringing together persons of divergent groups. The Brothers, much fewer in numbers, are also evolving in a similar manner. Some of them are adopting new works and new forms of living.

The laity in Asia have been till recently socially conservative in their official organizations. The lay leadership in Asia has been generally from the Westernized, affluent classes. They were subservient to the clergy. Their associations were for continuing the cultic and sacramentalist functions of the priest and for serving as a public sounding-board for hierarchical opinions on civil affairs. In the first stages after the Council, the laity experienced a euphoria of renewal, sharing positions with the clergy on numerous commissions, secretariats and boards. By the early 1970s this enthusiasm had generally vanished, as little was being achieved by such structures. Now small groups of laity are going deeper in thought and action all along the line, including socio-economic liberation through political action. Older lay organizations are proving increasingly inadequate to those new needs and aspirations. In Indonesia the laity have been quite active in the political field, on their own, at first on a right-wing trend and now both in the Suharto administration and outside it as benevolent critics.

The bishops in Asia are in general losing the leadership of the movement for renewal and reform in the Church. Some of them are even strongly against most changes. A few are emerging as leaders in their own right, sometimes without the support of the majority of their episcopal conferences: thus Cardinal Kim of Seoul, Cardinal Darmajuano of Indonesia, several bishops in the Philippines, a few in India and one in Sri Lanka. The inability of the bishops to cope with the changing situation in the Church and the Asian countries is one of the tragedies for the institutional aspect of the Church. How the next generation of Asian bishops will be depends very much on the Papal Nuncios and the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. The clergy or Catholics in Asia have very little positive say in the choice of their bishops. Rome does not yet have a reputation of choosing dynamic leaders for the episcopate in Asia.

The Years Ahead

As for the future of the Church in Asia, this will depend very much on how the Churches relate to the changes that are taking place in Asian countries. The conventional Church will naturally continue in the decades ahead—even if it remains as it is. There will be some conversions, as at present, especially among those in distress and strain. But the future of the Church is not in her numbers, the bigness of her institutions, her financial resources or connections with the powerful.

By and large it can be said that the changes in the Asian Churches since 1962 have been due more to events in the rest of society than to internal pressures like the Second Vatican Council. Or, to put it another way, where social pressures have been stronger, the Churches have better understood the message of Vatican II.

Asia is undergoing a profound revolutionary process. All the countries there are changing rapidly, whether it be with violence or peacefully. Mankind is searching for new political and social structures, specially for economic liberation from injustice and equality. Beneath this is a search for a deeper meaning in life and human relationships. This cultural revolution is part of Asia's modern spiritual quest which it shares with the rest of humanity.

In the process many ancient institutions are proving inadequate and irrelevant. The Churches as institutions institutions are proving to be so today. The dynamic, especially the young, forces in Asia do not fight religion any longer; they just bypass it as not worth the attention even to reform. The Churches will have a meaningful future in Asia only if they respond to these forces of change and to the personal search within them. Presently the Churches are more a problem for the Asian peoples than part of the solution.

It is not enough for the Churches to be conversion-minded in the sense of building themselves. Mere social service, or work in formal education, crèches, homes for the aged, or activity within the Christian ghettos cannot ensure a significant future for the Churches.

What the Churches need is to return to Jesus Christ

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and the evangelical simplicity of the Christian message. We need to be frankly open to man, in all his yearnings, specially to identify with the poor and to struggle against oppression and injustice. For this we have to be more truly spiritual than merely organizational, more Christian than Roman, Lutheran or Calvinist; more human than even religious. We have to rediscover Jesus as a great religious leader of Asia without his Western and bourgeois visage of the past centuries.

The Church has a future if she can stand side by side wtih men and women within problems and struggles; if it can help make power responsible—be it in democratic or in marxist regimes; if it can help reconcile justice with freedom, scientific development with human communion. All these need a new concept of mission, new priorities, new strategies of action and new groupings in society.

At present only small groups are on these wavelengths in the Asian Churches. They are generally marginalized by the Churches as institutions. They reveal the potential of the Church to present new forms of communion, sharing and commitment; but they also show the inability of many to appreciate consensus beyond their narrow, domestic, "communal" interests.

The future of the Church is in expanding itself to the world mission, to building the human community of man on earth, for this is the Kingdom of God, this is the substance of salvation in its earthly phase. Of this the Church as an institution has to be a sacrament. Today this bright future is not clearly opted for by the Church.

Perhaps Divine Providence has another design for mankind in revealing to us in the future the wider and deeper reality of the communion of man in God in the universal Church which is beyond all Churches, ideologies and political systems. Though the Churches may decrease in significance, the Gospel may be more accepted. Jesus of Nazareth may be more universally acknowledged and this may be closer to the divine plan than any future the present institutional Churches can build for themselves. It would seem that our hope lies in such an epiphany of God in our times. This is quite in keeping with the best in the traditions of the other Asian religions, of modern humanism and the contemporary revolutionary processes in Asia.

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, *Commonweal* is again appearing on alternate weeks during the summer months. Forthcoming issues will be dated July 13, July 27, August 10, August 24, September 7 and September 21. From then on we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

THE REEL THING

THE SCREEN

It was only a paper moon,
hanging over a cardboard sea;
But it wouldn't be make-believe
if you'd believe in me.

As in the song, so in Peter Bogdanovich's new movie, *Paper Moon*, everything depends on how we feel about each other. If only we will relate to the characters the way he wants, Bogdanovich figures, we will see rural Kansas, the Depression and everything else his way too. But first we have to see the magical relationship between Moses (Ryan O'Neal) and Addie (Tatum O'Neal): thereby hangs the tale, on that silver cord.

Of course, giving us somebody to believe in, somebody who could transform the world for us, was one way that Hollywood dealt with the Depression during the Depression itself. It is therefore not surprising that Bogdanovich should do the same, for he usually follows classic examples and follows more closely than ever when he is making a comedy. *What's Up, Doc?* was virtually a remake of Howard Hawks' *Bringing Up Baby*. Similarly, though based on a John David Brown novel and adapted by Alvin Sargent, *Paper Moon* seems a mirror image of Alexander Hall's 1934 *Little Miss Marker*. In that film a race-track tout becomes the unwilling guardian for a welsher's little girl, who is played by Shirley Temple. In Bogdanovich's film an itinerant flimflam man, Moses, gets stuck with a deceased hooker's daughter, Addie. If anybody has sired Bogdanovich's orphan, it is surely Little Miss Marker.

On the other hand, though, successive generations, like successive stages of history, usually seem to end up in a dialectical relationship. Dour, tight-lipped Addie has a personality just the opposite of the ever effervescent Shirley, and Addie's accommodation to the world she lives in is also contrary to little Miss Marker's. The latter imposes her fantasies on the adult world and makes it conform to them. (She is so avid a reader of fairy tales that to keep her happy the bookies, touts and gamblers must give a party where they all come dressed as characters from King Arthur's Court.)

But Addie lives without illusions or daydreams. She accepts the adult world as she finds it and survives by being sharp enough to compete with adults at their own games. When Moses tries to ditch her, she thwarts him by threatening to inform the local authorities he was given $200 in trust for her. Later she patches things up with him by inventing new wrinkles for the con game he works selling Bibles. And when another woman (Madeline Kahn) steals his affection, Addie lures a

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room clerk into the interloper's bed to be discovered by Moses, who thus becomes Addie's alone once more.

But whatever dialectical contradiction may be at work between this film and its thirties' predecessors, it probably affects the *mise en scène* more profoundly than the plot. For his film to succeed Bogdanovich needs to make us believe that a real moon is paper, not that a paper one is real. Unlike those Shirley Temple movies, which were shot on the sound stages at Twentieth Century Fox, *Paper Moon* has been shot on location in the ineluctable reality of Kansas. It is a location whose realness is only emphasized and heightened by Laszlo Kovacs' flat, unshadowed black-and-white photography. Though this sort of photography in comparable locations seemed apt for Bogdanovich's *The Last Picture Show*, I think it grates here. It is something the film seems to need to overcome, and can't.

There is one shot in the film where Addie and Moses are driving along a country road and pass a family walking the other way, pushing its belongings on a hand cart. These people look so ragged and bereft that Addie's gaze, and the camera's, lingers on them as the car sweeps by. In an interview conducted after the shooting of the film was completed, that little vignette on the road stuck out in Ryan O'Neal's mind because it had to be redone over and over again for a whole day. It should have been a simple take, but Bogdanovich just couldn't seem to get it right, O'Neal remembered.

The obvious question this raises is why such a take was being attempted at all: what place does it have in a sentimental comedy? The answer is, though it ought not to have any, this take does have a perverse sort of place in the film Bogdanovich has made. Addie's fascination with these people seems to intrude on the film as an unwanted, yet truthful reflection of her relationship with Moses. Like the poor family, she is destitute, carrying her possessions around in a cigar box as they carry theirs on their cart. What holds her to Moses more than affection is dead need, for without him she would be as shelterless as that family is.

Just as the hobo family catches Addie's eye and draws her attention out beyond the car in which she rides with Moses, the *mise en scène* in *Paper Moon* forever distracts us from the film's characters and their romance. The backgrounds, props and extras in this film loom up behind the principals like a great wall of water about to break over their heads. Instead of flowing from the characters to their surroundings, the energy in the film flows the other way. The puny relationship between Addie and Moses is ultimately unable to resist all the realism here, let alone transform it the way that relationship is supposed to. COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

TRICKLE DOWN, WITH RADICAL CHIC

EDWARD S. HERMAN and RICHARD B. DU BOFF

THE heart of this book* is its argument for faster "economic growth" as "the only way in which America will ever reduce poverty." While this plea generally follows lines developed by the New (Neo-Keynesian) Economists, *Retreat from Riches* marks a regression from the Heller-Okun doctrine of the 1960s, which placed great weight on the "growth dividend" that rapid economic expansion can provide the government for social welfare outlays. Passell and Ross (hereafter PR) abandon the growth dividend in favor of a simple trickle-down from an expanding private sector alone, which makes it "more lucrative to wash cars or wait on tables today than it was twenty years ago."

Retreat from Riches deserves attention not for its merits and substance, but rather as an index of the low estate of liberalism and the New Economics, and for the perverse relevance of its message to current policy issues. In the 1930s Keynesians were opposed by fiscal conservatives, who disliked both social expenditures and unbalanced budgets. By the late 1950s, the Keynesian social message had become muted, and military outlays had come to be regarded as a quite acceptable (even superior) form of public expenditure.

With *Retreat from Riches*, a further stage has been reached in which the main "enemy" of affluence, and threat to unimpeded and beneficent growth, is now the environmentalists and their allies. Barry Commoner, J. K. Galbraith, and the members of the Club of Rome are the doubters against whom PR's shafts are principally aimed. This new orientation reflects an important if not dominant strand of liberal thought, PR's book being warmly greeted by leading New Economists in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* and in a Foreword by Paul Samuelson, respectfully received in the *New York Review* (to which PR contribute regularly), and with its message conveyed without rebuttal in *The Nation* (Singer, "Population & Pollution, Do We Dare Grow?," November 27, 1972).

The further conservative turn of the New Economists has a clear bearing on the current environmental battle,

*PETER PASSELL and LEONARD ROSS, *The Retreat from Riches, Affluence and Its Enemies*, Viking, 1973, $6.95.

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already intensified by the growing threat of pollution controls to business freedom of action and profits. The auto and petroleum industries are now fully mobilized for a "massive public relations and lobbying battle" to delay and weaken the laws and regulations for the control of automobile exhaust (quoting the *Wall Street Journal* of April 12). Environmentalist opposition to drilling and exploitation of oil on the Northern Slope and off-shore has infuriated oil company leaders— Gulf Oil's exploration manager recently blamed them for Gulf's enforced, and costly, termination of drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel, "just because we dribbled some oil on the water" (*Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 22, 1973). In this sharpening conflict it is of enormous value to the polluters that they can cite the message of two "young liberals" (as PR are described in two separate Mobil Oil Company advertisements) that only growth can solve our poverty problem.

Retreat from Riches is a strongly ideological work, in which conservative and shifting premises and arguments adapt easily to the foreordained conclusions. Indicative of the spirit of the book is the PR device of depicting opponents of their position as "elitists securing their room at the top." This may well be an application of the old adage that the best defense is a good offense, since their trickle-down approach to poverty, dismissal of serious efforts at income redistribution, and the enthusiastic reception of their arguments by Mobil Oil and Spiro Agnew (who lauded them at the Philadelphia Union League Club in May 1972), might suggest a touch of elitism in PR. They contend in their Epilogue that "All we argue is that the most favored few percent in our society should not project their attitudes on those materially less fortunate." This is a purely *ad hominem* argument, as is their slur against Galbraith, portrayed as an anti-growth elitist who retires comfortably to Switzerland "to write compositions on the evils of private consumption." Not one shred of evidence is offered to show that personal advantage has played any role in the emergence of contra-growth viewpoints. (On the other hand, public praise for PR on the part of a giant corporation such as Mobil Oil *can* reasonably be assumed to reflect a calculation of corporate self-interest.)

Retreat from Riches nowhere provides a systematic analysis of the growth-poverty relationship, even though this is what the work is supposedly about. The authors concede that growth may not reduce inequality or restrain consumerism, but they carefully avoid a serious discussion of how this affects human well-being. Poverty, which growth can eliminate, is nowhere defined by PR, but they tend toward an absolute rather than relative concept— of necessity, since relative deprivation can and does increase under free-market growth. And though growth and a rising GNP are the PR solution to poverty, nowhere do these authors explain why substantial poverty persists in a country with a huge GNP and many decades of very impressive growth. Similarly, a study of economic growth in Western Europe during the 1960s by EEC economist Michael Albert shows that nations with the highest rates of GNP growth turned in the worst performances in the public sector (outputs of collective goods such as medical and health facilities, low-cost housing, mass transport, and so forth). PR concede that growth and technological change have had perverse effects on the environment up to now, but they fail to dig deeply into this reality, preferring a quick turn to Panglossian political and technical possibilities, "in principle."

Throughout their book PR formulate the growth-and-poverty issue as one of slowing down or accelerating growth within a fixed set of institutional arrangements. Thus, mass advertising and assiduously cultivated consumerism, the existing balance between public and private investment, and the present tax and expenditure structure, are all taken as givens. With such status quo premises the range of policy options is, of course, exceedingly narrow. PR never consider whether poverty might be more sharply reduced, and happiness enhanced, by basic institutional changes, with a stable or smaller GNP. They dodge the issue in several ways: For one, they argue that the ordinary American has no frivolous expenditures and is barely making ends meet, with the implication that culturally established standards (affected by advertising, big-car status, effects of unequal income distribution and a competitive, individualistic and competitive ethic) do not affect the satsfactions that growth can provide. In a different context, however, where the authors are extolling growth, they state that "the average income of the bottom tenth of the population has gone up about 55 percent since 1950," and that real incomes of the average American increased 15 percent in the 1960s alone. They never trouble to reconcile these achievements with their picture of the masses still struggling desperately to meet basic needs.

Another device is to argue that "Growth, then, often reflects some unappetizing values. But for the most part it does not create those values." This is pure question-begging. Even if growth creates no values, it reinforces those in existence, especially when they are congenial to entrenched economic interests. Beyond this, as many economists have stressed, the very logic of free market economic growth is to keep creating wants faster than it satisfies them. Growth that depends on and promotes such a treadmill of frustration has built-in obstacles to fulfilling human aspirations and to solving the poverty problem. But this critically important question is referred to once by PR and then abruptly dropped. The social function of "elite " consumption patterns that are deliberately flaunted in front of *all* citizens to whet their appetites for more and more "goods" is never discussed. Instead, the issue is dismissed as of interest only to "pop sociologists."

Another weapon in the PR arsenal is the opportunistic use of the political

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constraint. Although avowedly dedicated to the interests of the poor, PR judge income redistribution via political processes to be ruled out by hardheaded realities. Nixon's welfare proposal "remains mired in Congress. Explicit redistribution of income is still political anathema." That's that—no talk about urgency, 'where there's a will there's a way," or anything else. When PR turn to pollution control, however, a political initiative not only becomes necessary to salvage growthmanship, it somehow becomes feasible. PR concede that to date the government has been ineffectual in preventing environmental destruction, mainly because the profit motive for polluting "seems recently to have intensified." Nonetheless, PR conclude that in *this* case effective control is indeed possible "if we have the political will to insist." Our "task" is "to break the bonds between profit and pollution"; pollution will be abated "when the government gets the gumption to enforce some tough laws . . ." No longer is politics a *given* defining the limits of policy, as it is with respect to income redistribution (where we have no "task" to break new ground and government "gumption" is not demanded). Uninterrupted economic growth requires effective pollution control; in principle such control is conceivable; therefore, we may assume it will be forthcoming.

The same use of shifting assumptions is evident in PR's treatment of America's role in the international economy. To begin with, the very inclusion of this subject in their book testifies to its contorted and makeshift character: opponents of U.S. imperialism are described as wanting to stop economic growth because they incorrectly believe that such growth depends upon continued American exploitation of underdeveloped countries. No case of this line of reasoning is cited; neither *Le Monde's* Claude Julien nor Lenin (the only names mentioned) is shown to be against growth as such.

So far as American dependence on overseas expansion is concerned, the vital—and growing—concern of the U.S. leadership with foreign markets and raw materials is dismissed by PR on the ground that we could "in principle" dispense with external economic ties at "modest" cost thanks to our internal wealth, with the aid of a few intelligent economic and political readjustments. This method of focusing on what we may call the "deinstitutionalized theoretical possibility" has been utilized for years by the New Economists to show that a large military budget is not "necessary" for prosperity in America. Why the huge Pentagon budget is *there,* and how its politics and economics interact to sustain its command over resources, are ignored.

In the same tradition PR tell us that our balance of payments is "utterly unworthy of the sacrifices of well-being that have been made in its name. International trade is a minor business for the United States . . . only 5 percent of GNP. . . The economic insignificance of American trade underlines the perversity of the government's balance of payments obsession." But this "obsession" is not a *given,* even though firmly imbedded in the perceived interests of the business and political establishment. And here, as throughout the book, the political double standard is supported by invoking lofty GNP or profit aggregates to prove that by comparison any individual sector or industry in the economy is "minor," so that the worries it caused politicians are attributable to "a mixture of stupidity, misplaced internationalism and private venality." This retreat to aggregates and an economy "too big" to be dominated by any single part, is a practice that Paul Samuelson might use as an illustration of the "fallacy of composition."

At times the PR method of proof approaches the "comically trendy," to borrow one of their many catchphrases. However attractive foreign investments and sales may appear to U.S. corporations, "they are in no sense *necessary* to the health and welfare of American capitalists." Not necessary, that is, if we ignore "obsessions," interests, and power. And if we disregard facts as well. "Exports," PR tell us, "play a modest role in American business, representing only a tiny fraction of total output. Chicago is a better market for computers than all of Southeast Asia." In reality, by 1970 IBM was obtaining over half of its net profits from overseas operations, "a very exciting turning point in our history," according to IBM Chairman Thomas J. Watson.

Likewise, the *fact* that we are becoming increasingly dependent on imports of oil and other foreign raw materials is brushed aside by PR. Here, and in dealing with pollution control, they resort to hypothetical future technology as the assured source of resolution of problems that now appear threatening. The U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that our domestic industrial base and our export sector are becoming *more* reliant on "high technology products" which themselves require *greater* proportions of a few critical raw materials, many of which must now be imported. The business press reports that multinational corporations are "scouring the world" for sources of increasingly scarce raw materials, and estimates of future U.S. demands on external supplies continue to rise; yet for PR "technology continues to widen the opportunities to substitute plentiful materials, for scarce ones" and is freeing our economy "from dependence on foreign resources."

Corporate business admittedly is becoming more growth-oriented than ever before, with "growth" defined in terms of a steady expansion of sales and profits. But PR inform us that pollution could be eliminated by technologies that might add "only about 10 to 15 percent to cost." Try convincing Henry Ford, Carl Gerstacker, or any other corporate chieftain to absorb such a bagatelle either by reducing profits, tampering with prices and sales for reasons unconnecetd with output and profit maximization, or scaling down his growth horizons to accommodate antipollution investments. The same can be said for the observation that "if the task of cleaning up is organized efficiently; the costs of high

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standards of air and water quality will be bearable—certainly less than one-tenth of GNP, the amount added by two good years of growth." Bearable for whom? And can it be assumed that this large volume of resources will be diverted to wholesome social ends because the entire citizenry would benefit? The history of the disappearance of past "growth (and peace) dividends" indicates that the answer is a flat "no," and nothing in *Retreat from Riches* suggests the contrary. Once again, PR's optimism rests on a disregard of the realities of power and interest in favor of politics-free models that guarantee the "will"—with the technological "way" assured by an act of Panglossian faith. It is ironical that these complacencies play so obviously into the hands of forces attempting to circumvent developments the authors claim to favor—and so conspicuously help prevent realization of the "will" that they postulate to facilitate their argument!

The Present Revelation

GABRIEL MORAN

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RICHARD P. McBRIEN

Gabriel Moran has his finger on the rawest nerve in contemporary theology. Many, if not most, of its practitioners operate without reference to their own scientific foundations. Otherwise intelligent and erudite scholars, whether working in the area of biblical exegesis, patristics, medieval thought, modern dogmatic problems, or even theological method, continue to be satisfied with frankly positivistic definitions of the enterprise. For some, theology is the study of God's revelation in the Bible; for others, it is the study of God's revelation in the teachings of the Church. In both cases, revelation is identified with a given source: Scripture or doctrine. The question is simply not raised: By what *process* have Scripture and doctrine come into being? Indeed, it is that process which must be isolated and defined if we are to understand the meaning and task of theology.

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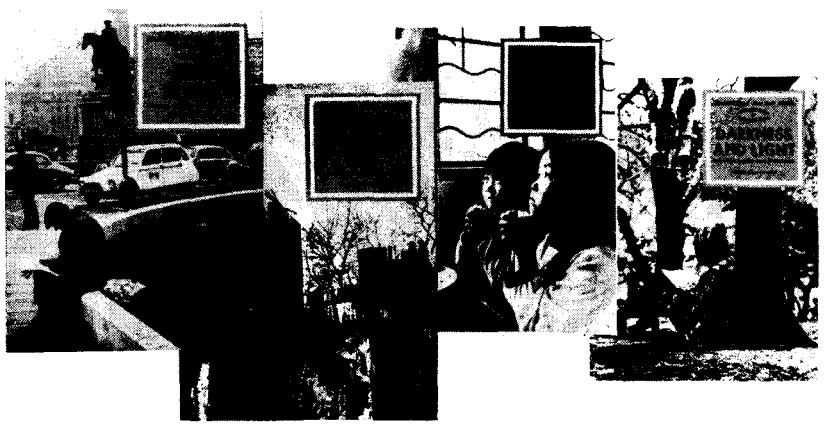

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The Bible and doctrines are themselves *products* of theology.

For still too many people working in the field, theology is reductively little more than a word-game. One begins with dice, cards, and rules (the "content of revelation") which one simply accepts "on faith." Philosophers and other scholars, however, have to fashion their own regulations and critically substantiate the point and purpose of their own intellectual activities. And that is what supposedly distinguishes theology from every other discipline: Theology presupposes revelation, the others do not. According to Moran, it is high time that theology took another look at such a presumption.

He argues that theologians have too often looked upon revelation as a separate topic or problem within the whole range of theological questions. It is not. Revelation is the fundamental premise upon which the whole theological enterprise rests. He challenges the view that revelation is a body of knowledge granted to a relatively few people, while inaccessible to the rest of mankind. Such a perspective has made Christianity an often triumphalistic and intolerant religion. If revelation is available at all, it is available in human experience itself. And if it is available there, it is available, in principle, to everyone.

The traditional notion of revelation as "truths communicated by God" is both rationalistic and idolatrous. It bureaucratizes community; indeed, it is anti-communal. Revelation refers instead to the relational character of being. It is not one of the relations, but the entire set of relations that constitutes the universe. It is not something one is given, but a relation in which one participates. It is the structure of all experience.

The relational character of being and of man is an insight whose limits we have yet to discover (Moran relies here on the writings of Buber and others), just as the historically conditioned character of all knowledge has only recently been perceived. The complex of relational processes can be called a field, wherein things emerge at the intersection of sets of relationships. An exhaustive understanding of any point in the field would require a grasp of how that point in the field is related to every other point. (which is why he says elsewhere that "the more relative a truth is the better"). Poetry comes closest to being an effective means of conveying the whole as whole. Theology must be a kind of poetry, its language lyrical, metaphorical, and even mystical.

Since revelation is a universal reality, one must begin with its universal meaning (drawn especially from humanistic psychology) and then move toward the Christian community as a possible expression of revelation. This is, of course, the exact reverse of the traditional method, which first validated Christian revelation and then tried to show how revelation might be available even to the pagans. Unless the word "revelation" means something to all, it cannot mean much to anyone in particular. While there is one, universal revelation, there are also particular, concrete expressions of it, to be sure. Such expressions are neither identical or equivalent to revelation nor are they parts of revelation. Although "Christian" may be a particular way of expressing revelation, it is misleading to refer to "Christian revelation." It implies that revelation is a "something" given in the past to a special group of people. By denying that revelation is an object, Moran is saying that "Christian revelation" is nothing.

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This book, so exploratory in nature and so wide-ranging in scope, is not without its difficulties and weaknesses. While it reflects a truly broad grasp of contemporary literature pertinent to the problem of religious foundations, the argument seems diluted, not toughened, by the tapestry of citations and references. Moran writes each paragraph with disarming clarity (simple, indicative sentences, without adjectival and adverbial inflation), but for some reason the book as a whole seems to lack the crispness of its several parts. I suspect that Moran could have made an even stronger case, without sacrifice of documentation and explanation, in a tautly constructed twenty-five-page article.

It is not always clear, furthermore, just what Moran's own position is on various subsidiary, but important, issues. He calls attention to certain modern assumptions without explicitly endorsing or rejecting them, although he leaves the impression that he is more favorably than unfavorably disposed; that interpersonal relations are our only contact with reality (p. 10), on the evils of institutions (p. 11), on the coexistence of indifference to doctrine with a residual attraction for the Church (p. 12), on man as contemporary man's hero (pp. 54-5). On the other hand, he does explicitly reject the mathematical/empirical scientific view of experience (p. 78).

Even in context, some of his statements seem extreme: "One must choose from the beginning: either the present is everything or it is nothing . . . The present . . . is the only thing that exists" (p. 125). Revelation, he argues, ought never to be spoken of as if it occurred at some point in time (p. 128), but what are we to make of the experiences of revelation by communities in the past? He does not approve of the recent tendency to identify revelation with "promise," which makes sense in the light of his basic argument, but his follow-up statement seems gratuitous; namely, that "the promise of man's life is found in man" (p. 134).

At other points, Moran seems to hedge his comments, as if he were not completely sure about the application of his principle. Thus, he says that it is "probably" true that nothing can be stated *about God* because that would make God into an object within the universe (p. 147); the existence of the Jews shows that belief in a personal God cannot "easily" be dismissed (p. 259); and Christian religion ought not to speak "much" about Jesus Christ (p. 269). In one place he suggests that the Church has no boundaries (p. 13); elsewhere he defends the boundary-principle (pp. 315-6).

There is at least one factual error in the argument. He cites an article by Raymond Brown, "Does the New Testament Call Jesus 'God'?" leaving his readers with the impression that Brown supports Moran's view that the New Testament clearly does not make such claims (p. 270). But Brown argued in that article that the New Testament does indeed "clearly" call Jesus "God" in three places: Heb 1:8-9; Jn 1:1; and Jn 20:28.

"The man of genius who speaks new thoughts is bound to have a painful birth," Moran writes. "He is testing the limits of the community's agreed-upon boundaries" (pp. 142-3). Moran is testing those limits here. His book is a challenge to everyone engaged in the discipline of theology of whatever level. It ought to be read by every one of them.

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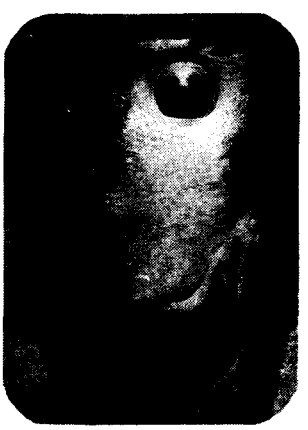

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late fall receives his draft notice; his mother, chilly in her bathing suit, is told by a neighbor a lion is loose. She goes for a last swim and, coming out of a cold dive, sees the lion, and is brave. In "The Meteor Boy" a lover of twenty years' standing, brings, after his wife's death, his daughter and grandson to see his mistress. There is no possible communication; the dialogue is sad, funny, above all, so likely.

"Flashlight" is about a party given in her son-in-law's rented cottage by Mrs. Forrester's son-in-law and "Tim's wife, somehow diminishingly Mrs. Forrester's daughter." Tim wants to borrow Mrs. F's flashlight. She doesn't want him to have it, as he breaks glasses, leaves beery rings on the furniture, loses everything. And Mrs. F clings to her flashlight, especially as they are all living the simple life—lamps, candles, and so on. Tim, at first in fun, starts to pull Mrs. F's hair to make her give him the flashlight—in front of guests and daughter. He turns nasty, she cries out in real pain, and yields. It is brilliantly done.

"A Gift of Love" is very short. A lonely old man feeds the gulls daily; he has a heart-attack; love takes many forms, and the birds tear his frayed coat to pieces to reach the rolls they knew he had for them.

"A Matter of Taste" describes an actress with her long-time "treasure"; the treasure has a husband never met by "Madam." On their fifteenth anniversary (maid and Madam) he is invited to tea, to celebrate. He brings a present, a three-foot nude Oriental sage "of rich brown hue, it was neither a wood carving nor a bronze, but clearly made of some sort of light composition that had been poured into a mold for ages." Mrs. X recoils; but the donor sets it on the piano. He is delighted—the perfect spot. Mrs. X is horrified. When her guests are gone she hurls the figure with all her strength to the floor. But he would not break. So she replaces him on the piano.

In "The Closed Door" a nine-year-old becomes aware that her boring tutor has become her beloved mother's lover—and shields her mother and her younger cousin Luke, both, from her new sad knowledge. Other stories tell of a grandmother who regrets sacrificing herself for a grandson—yet goes on doing it; and of a woman in whom Lenore Marshall seems to be gently mocking herself: "She was something or other with some committee or other involved in saving the world in one way or another."

In his introduction Alfred Kazin gives something of the flavor of the author of these stories; a sensitive private person, poet, yet a tremendous fighter for causes; a devoted wife and mother, yet with a wide circle of friends, none of whom knew her more than slightly; for, as she wrote of another—perhaps of herself—"like everyone else, every minute of her time was lived on various levels."

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 347)

university's subscription to the 1940 Statement): "most church-related institutions no longer need or desire the departure from the principle of academic freedom implied in the 1940 Statement and Committee A does not endorse such a departure."

It seems to me that the thrust of AAUP sentiment is clearly opposed to the restrictive implications of Fr. Ellis' article.

ROBERT D. SWEENEY
Dept. of Philosophy
John Carroll University

Reply

When I included the remark concerning the AAUP's Special Committee on Academic Freedom in Church-Related Colleges and Universities in my article of April 27 (p. 181), I used material gathered for my chapter, "A Tradition of Autonomy?" in *The Catholic University. A Modern Appraisal* (Notre Dame, 1970), p. 260. The essay was actually written in 1967, although the book did not appear until the spring of 1970. I was at fault in not tracing the sequel of the Special Committee's report in later issues of the *AAUP Bulletin*. I wish to thank Mr. Sweeney for calling attention to the point and likewise to express my regret that an inaccurate impression may have been left in the minds of other readers.

(MSGR.) JOHN TRACY ELLIS
University of San Francisco

Abel, I. W.

Hammond, Indiana

To the Editors: I believe that "Joe Hill" 's column ["Steel: Peace in Our Times," Apr. 27] exaggerates the support for Abel's plan among local union presidents, and still more among the rank and file.

In this area at least two presidents (Frank Guzzo of Local 1033 and Harry Piasecki of Local 1014) say that they opposed the agreement, and three other

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locals (65, 1011 and 6787) have passed resolutions condemning it. These five locals have a combined membership of close to 50,000.

I wonder whether, as a way of correcting the impression left by "Joe Hill," you would be willing to print the address where copies of the pamphlet "Where's I. W. Abel?" may be obtained. *(Send 10¢ to Workers For Democracy, 5305 Hohman Avenue, Room 505, Hammond, Indiana 46320.)*

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Michael Novak (Cont.)

healthy quotient of evil and corruption in politics, to reach out a hand of compassion and forgiveness; whereas, Protestants tend to insist somewhat more strongly on reform, cleanness, and probity. "Protestants," an agnostic Harvard philosophy professor once told his class, "tend to insanity; Catholics tend to corruption." Comparing Brahmin to Irish-Italian Boston, I thought he had a rough sort of point.

What I must regret in the assimilationist Catholic Left is its passion for puritan moralism. When America faces the reality that her "New World" is just as corrupt as the "Old World" ever was; that Americans are just as evil, mediocre and good as other human beings; and that our "system," like every other known human system, deserves some high marks and some very low ones, then perhaps the old puritan myth may at least be broken.

When the moralistic Left agrees that its own high morality is not morality itself, but simply one finite, fallible approach to morality, then perhaps it will make fewer explicit accusations about the immorality of its political opponents. In New Haven, perhaps Yale will become as attentive to the very large Italian community as to blacks and students. In Milwaukee, perhaps the liberal professors will halt their attacks on the budding Slav and Italian community organizations in nearby neighborhoods. Intellectuals may love ethnics, but their bashfulness about expressing this love hurts their reputation.

The moralism of the Left seems unworthy of the Left, a crusty hangover from the nation's puritan and self-deceiving past. It seems to guarantee that no genuine changes will take place in American life. A new moralistic elite merely replaces an old.

What is *moralism?* It is the tendency to give high salience to moral terms in the definition of political conflicts, in a way that masks one's own self-interests and power position. A *cynical* position merely brokers powers and interests. A *moral* position, by contrast, is one that begins with frank recognition of power positions and self-interests, and tries then to find peaceful and mutually constructive ways of resolving the conflicts that arise therefrom. Because of their awareness of powers and interests, persons in a moral position recognize that their assessment of a moral strategy may be less transcendent than they would aspire to. They respect the morality—but not necessarily the moralism—of their opponents.

Naturally, we each think our position is moral and that of others moralistic.

To insist on breast-beating is in any case a sign of moralism. One overcomes moralism by struggling to gain sympathy for the point of view most opposed to one's own. Fresh solutions to ancient conflicts are often found by examining them from the two most diametrically opposed views, seeking the point which transcends both of them.

When the traditional, working class Left and the affluent, educated Left try to see problems from each other's point of view, a new starting place may come to light. A new moral vision for the Left, transcending both, may come into focus.

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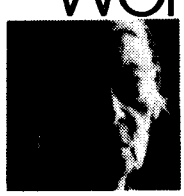

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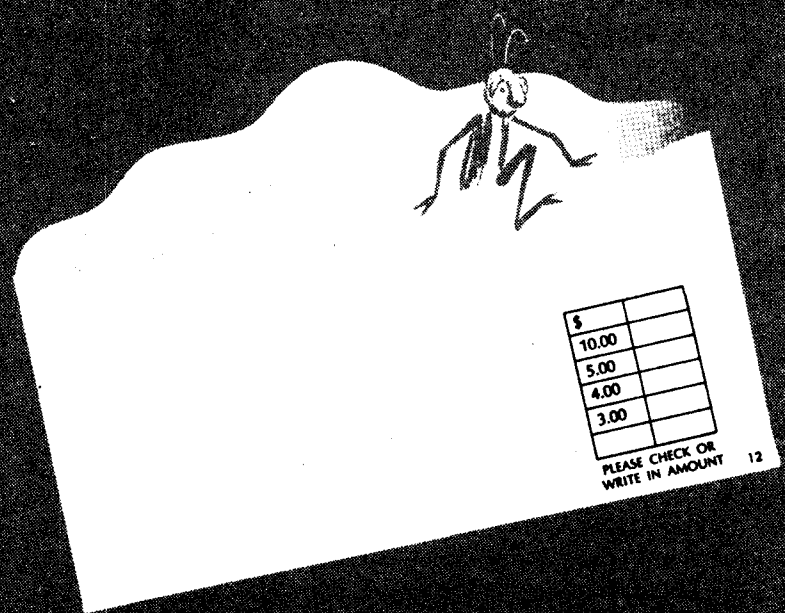

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